



# Ditransitive Constructions in Zaza Langaage

*Zaza Dilinde Çift Geçişli Fiillerin Yapısı*

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## **Ditransitive Constructions in Zaza Language**

### **Abstract**

Languages group verbs in different ways. Because of the ergative feature of Zazaki, it plays a big role whether the verbs are transitive or intransitive. Zaza Language introduces some pronouns to distinguish double-transitive verbs from transitive and intransitive verbs. In some linguistic works, the terms transitive and ergative are used synonymously. This article aims to scrutinize ditransitive constructions in the Zaza language, which has some interesting syntactic elements in these structures. They are mostly pronouns in combination with directions. Several pronouns replace indirect object. On the one hand, the goal of this study is to find out the functions of these pronouns. The semantic content of these pronouns decides which pronouns may appear in a specific position. They can appear with or without directions. Only the pronouns such as *cı* can alone replace a NP, the other ones need a direction for this replacing. On the other hand, this study discusses the morphosyntactic and semantic realizations in ditransitive constructions. While these pronouns do not syntactically follow the same word order, they can semantically be classified into two groups.

**Keywords:** Morphosyntax, Ditransitive verbs, Recipient, Zaza, Iranian languages.

## **Zaza Dilinde Çift Geçişli Fiillerin Yapısı**

### **Öz**

Diller farklı yöntemlerle fiilleri gruplandırır. Zazacanın ergatif özelliğinden dolayı fiillerin geçişli veya geçişsiz olmaları büyük rol oynamaktadır. Zaza Dili çift geçişli fiilleri geçişli ve geçişsiz fiillerden ayırtmak için bazı zamirler devreye koyar. Bazı dilbilimsel eserlerde geçişli ve ergatif kavramı eşanlamlı olarak kullanılır. Bu makale, bu yapılarda bazı ilginç sözdizimsel unsurlara sahip olan Zaza dilindeki çift geçişli yapıları incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çift geçişli fiillerdeki hedef ya da indirek nesnenin yerine kullanılan birçok zamir mevcuttur. Bu zamirler çoğunlukla yön partikelleri ile kombine edilirler. Bir yandan, bu çalışmanın amacı bu zamirlerin işlevlerini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bu zamirlerin anlamsal içeriği, hangi zamirlerin belirli bir konumda görünebileceğine karar verir. Yön partikelleri Yönlü veya yönsüz görünebilirler. Sadece *cı* gibi zamirler tek başına bir NP'nin yerini alabilir, diğer zamirler bunun yerine geçmek için bir yön partikeline ihtiyaç duyar. Öte yandan, bu çalışma, dönüşümlü yapılarda morfosentaktik ve anlamsal gerçekleştirmeleri tartışmaktadır. Bu zamirler sözdizimsel olarak aynı kelime sırasını takip etmese de, anlamsal olarak iki gruba ayrılabilirler.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Morfosentaks, Geçişli fiiller, Hedef Nesnesi, Zaza, İrani Diller.

## Introduction

Although there are many accents of the Zaza Language, which belongs to the Northwestern Iranian language group, it is possible to divide it into two dialects. Some accents in the Southern dialect are farther apart though the accents of the Northern dialects are closer to each other. Due to different accents of the Southern dialect, the data given in this article belongs to the Northern dialect which does not vary widely in itself. Another reason for using the Northern data more is that the author has a good knowledge of this region. The examples from the Southern dialect are also included in order to show both the similarities and the basic changes in this field.

Conventionally, ditransitive verbs have three argument positions. 'A ditransitive construction is defined here as a construction consisting of a (ditransitive) verb, an agent argument (A), a recipient-like argument (R), and a theme argument (T)' (Malchukov, 2007: 3). The using of some pronouns for indirect object in Zazaki and the functions of these pronouns constitute complex verb infinitives. Recipient pronouns can give a different meaning to the verb, amplify its meaning, or determine the style of the action and its endpoint. Furthermore, these pronouns make the structure ditransitive to add a requisite constituent to a transitive verb (see table 4.1). Although there are a lot of ditransitive verbs, the examples will be presented more on the verb *kerdene* 'to do, to make' as it can be used in all combinations.

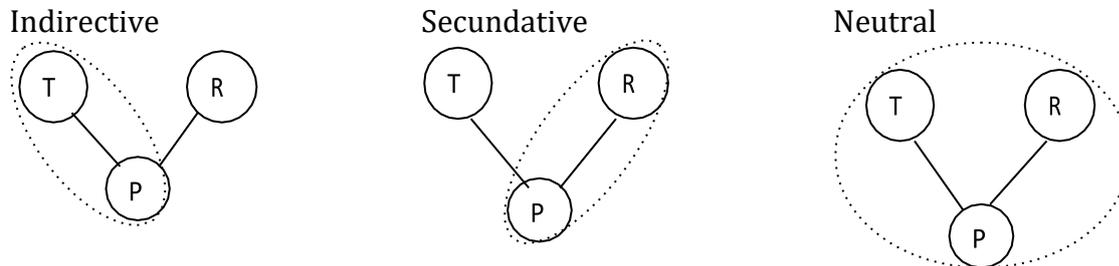
(1.1)

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| a. Ey deşi boax kerdi 'He painted the walls.'            | boax kerdene 'to paint' (A,P)     |
| b. Ey boax kerd dêsu ra 'He put the paint on the walls.' | pı ra kerdene 'to put' (A,T,R)    |
| c. Ae kar kerd 'She worked.'                             | kar kerdene 'to work' (A,P)       |
| d. Ae Xıdır kerd kar 'She helped Xıdır get a job.'       | cı kerdene 'to do inside' (A,T,R) |
| e. İne ma ra va(t) 'They said to us.'                    | cı ra vatene 'to say' (A,T,R)     |
| f. Keyna fistan girot 'The girl bought/took the skirt'   | girotiş 'to buy/to take' (A,P)    |
| g. Keyna fistan girot pı ra 'The girl wore the skirt'    | pı ra girotiş 'to wear' (A,T,R)   |

The word order is S+O+V in transitive verbs, while it is Agent+Theme+Verb+Recipient (S+O<sub>D</sub>+V+O<sub>i</sub>) in ditransitive verbs due to the recipient object. Direct object which is a syntactic category corresponds to the theme in semantics, whereas indirect object corresponds to the recipient. In Zaza Language, except in one case, direct objects precede verbs and indirect objects follow verbs. Another important feature of the recipient object is that it is always marked by oblique case. The use of *tı* or *cı* for *pı* assigns different meanings to the sentence. It also renders the sentence meaningless according to context. The reason for using *pı* for the direct object is to point out that the motion which starts from the direct object and turns towards the recipient object ends on the surface of the recipient (1.1b). As for in (1.1d), *cı* can be used for *kar* 'work'. While the other pronouns cannot be used alone, *cı* is used both alone and with other particle combinations. Another feature of *cı* is that it makes an exception that the recipient object can be located before the verb when used with the direction particle in word order. The recipient appears before the verb in the verbs such as *cı-ra vatene* 'to say to someone' and *cı-ra kerdene* 'to cut off from something', whose objects are null and the verbs are inflected according to

the null objects in past tense (1.1e). While there are phonological sound changes in the examples (1.1f) (1.1g) from the Southern dialect, there is no syntactic change.

**Figure 1.2.** The general structure of ditransitive constructions (Malchukov 2007: 4)



Source: Andrej Malchukov & Martin Haspelmath & Bernard Comrie. Ditransitive constructions: A typological overview. *Studies in Ditransitive Constructions: A Comparative Handbook*. (2007):45.

There are three basic structures in ditransitive verbs. 'Indirect object alignment or indirective alignment: The R is treated differently from the P and the T (T = P R). Such constructions are also called "dative constructions" or "indirect object constructions".' (Malchukov 2007: 3). The patient of transitive verb and the theme of ditransitive verb have the same features, while the recipient has a different feature (Haspelmath 2015: 22). The inflection of verbs according to direct object in past tenses in Zazaki is another common feature of transitive and ditransitive verbs. Apart from indirective alignment, secundative is available in syntactically ergative languages, and neutral alignment is also available in some languages. Zazaki, which is morphologically an split ergative language, has an indirective alignment since it is syntactically accusative (Arslan 2016, 2017).

## 2. Recipient/Indirect Object Pronouns

In Zazaki, the recipient object pronouns are also used in intransitive verbs, but this does not add a new argument to the intransitive verb. The intransitive verb has one argument in any case. When these pronouns are added to transitive verbs, there is usually a position for a new valence and the verb becomes ditransitive. The recipient object pronouns used for the position of the recipient in ditransitive verbs are also a component of the infinitive of the verb. While the collective pronouns of the object pronouns are used for the direct object *pê*, *tê*, *cê*, the object pronouns giving the outer and inner meaning are used for the recipient object. Table 2.1 (Selcan 1998: 426) below shows the details of the pronouns.

**Table 2.1.** The semantic of recipient object pronouns

	/ê/	/ı/	/e/
/p/	pê	pı	pe
/t/	tê	tı	te
/c/	cê	cı	-
	collective	outer	inner

The indirect object pronouns, which vary according to their semantic meaning, are used in ditransitive sentences. These will be analyzed in detail. As *cı* is comprehensive, it can be used with a verb per se, while others need a particle. Most of the verb prefixes are used

with directional particles, but their functions are different. Two particles in the same style such as *pe*, *te* or *ra* and *ro* cannot be used together. Those with different functions in terms of content can be used together. In the following table 2.2 (Selcan 1998: 429), the combination of the prefixes is given on the one hand, and the motion directions of the directional particles are given on the other hand. One of the direction particles which is mostly used with indirect object is *ra*. As for *we*, it has no combination with any recipient pronouns.

**Table 2.2.** The combination of the verb prefixes

		Direction particles			
		 <i>ra</i>	 <i>ro</i>	 <i>de</i>	 <i>we(r)</i>
Recipient Object Pronouns	<i>pi</i>	+	+	-	-
	<i>ti</i>	+	+	-	-
	<i>ci</i>	+	-	-	-
	<i>pe</i>	-	-	+	-
	<i>te</i>	-	-	+	-

These pronouns cannot be used per se. They only function in connection with the verb that they come before. The recipient object pronouns (*ci*, *pi*, *ti*, *pe*, *te*) that appear as the verb prefixes are divided into two groups: Those that can be used per se (*ci*) and those that are used with a directional particle (*ci*, *pi*, *ti*, *pe*, *te*). Direct use of the recipient object whose information is previously shared between the sender-receiver means that the recipient object is known by the informant. For example, speech partners know what the recipient object is in the sentences *ae uxwe kerde lazeki (pi) ro* 'she washed the boy' *ey desteke kerde derzêni (ti) ra* 'he put the thread on the needle' even when the pronouns are used. In the examples below (2.1), the use of pronouns is also given.

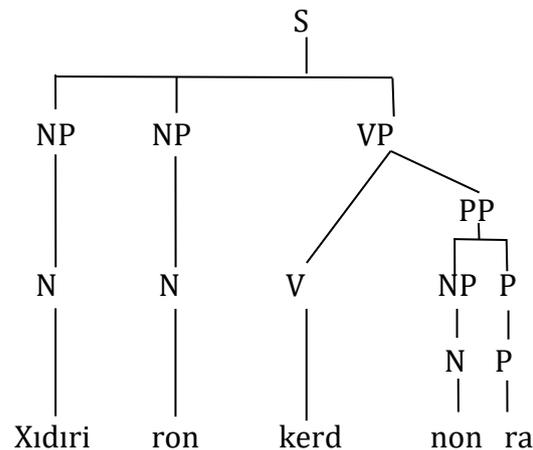
(2.1)

- a. Xıdiri ron kerd non ra → Xıdiri ron kerd pi ra  
'Xıdır has greased bread'
- b. Heseni la kerd derzêni ra → Heseni la kerd ti ra  
'Hesen threaded the needle'
- c. Çêneke po rê ho ci ra kerd → Çêneke porê ho ci ra kerd  
'The girl cut her hair'
- d. Lazeki min kerd hard de → Lazeki min kerd pe de  
'The boy pounded the nail into the ground'
- e. Pısiŋge oda de ci kerd → Pısiŋge te de ci kerd  
'The cat defecated in the room'

As others can only make one combination with directional particles, the pronouns *pi* and *ti* (see Tab. 2.2) have most combinations. They can be used with vertical *ro* and horizontal

*ra* directional particles. *Pi* is when an actant reaches the surface of the recipient object (2.1a), whereas *ti* is passing into or through the recipient object (2.1b). The action at *ti* can also exit from the other side of the recipient object and continue. Unlike other pronouns, *ci* can both form an infinitive with a verb without a directional particle, *ci kerdene* 'to do in, to fill in', and make a combination with directional particles (2.1c). In some cases, *ti* is also used in the Southern dialect for *ci* used in the Northern dialect, as in *ci ra vatene* → *ti ra vatiş* "to say something to someone". These local differences do not cause any functional changes. Even in some accents of the Southern dialect, the pronoun *ci* makes the distinction between masculine, feminine and plural. *Ci* appears for masculine, *ca* for feminine, and *cin* for plural objects. This distinction does not appear in the Northern dialect. *Pe* and *te*, which can be used with particle *de*, cannot be used alone or with other directional particles. In *pe*, the action does not end on the surface of the recipient object but continues into it (2.1d). The particle *te* is used for the stationary state inside the object, while the particle *pe* refers to a motion directed towards the surface of the object. Since *te* is a part of the verb in some verbs, it does not leave its place to any objects.

**Figure 2.1.** The sentence structure with ditransitives



In the Northern dialect, the recipient pronouns do not differentiate genus, numerus and casus, but this distinction is made when personal pronouns are used for them. This distinction is clearly seen in the sentence *Xıdıri ron kerd ey ra* in the same sense for (2.1). The pronoun *ey* is the 3rd singular masculine in the oblique case. Furthermore, these recipient pronouns are used for NPs which are only 3rd singular and 3rd plural. *Pi ra* for *to ra* in the sentence *Piyê to çeket da ey ra* 'Your father put him on a jacket' cannot be used. Thus, it is usual to distinguish two basic types of ditransitive verbs: the verbs of change of possession (ditransitive proper such as 'give') and the verbs of change of location or caused motion such as 'send' (Malchukov 2010: 48).

There is no structural difference between Northern and Southern dialects in ditransitive verbs. While the same recipient pronouns are generally used in all Zazaki speaking regions, there is exceptionally the pronoun *ci*, which is used in different meanings, in the Northern dialect. Although the pronoun *ti* is used with some verbs in the Southern dialect for the pronoun *ci*, there is no syntactic change.

### 3.The Morphosyntax of Ditransitive Constructions

#### 3.1.The Inflection Of Verbs And The Distribution Of Cases

S is defined as a subject of a intransitive verb. This is marked by nominative case in all tenses. The A which is the subject of a transitive and ditransitive verb is also marked by nominative case like S in present tense. When past tense is used, case changes occur in the arguments of transitive verbs. Since the object of the transitive verbs (Patient) and the object of the ditransitive verbs (Theme) are inflected with the verb, they become nominative. As for A, it becomes oblique. P and T are regularly marked by the oblique and placed preverbally, while R is always postverbal and never has agreement. Cases and agreements are given in tab. 3.1.

**Table 3.1.**Cases and verb inflections

Past Tense	Case		Inflection
verb	Nominative	Oblique	
intransitive	Subject		Subject
transitive	Patient	Agent	Patient
ditransitive	Theme	Agent Recipient	Theme

In Table 3.1 above, the distributions of cases and inflections are given by taking the past tense form of sentences into consideration. In present tense, the verb is inflected according to Subject and Agent, whereas Patient and Theme are directly linked to the verb in the past tense. Therefore, these constituents are marked by nominative case. Likewise, the Theme is marked by oblique case as well as the recipient in ditransitive verbs in the present tense. The thematic roles of verbs are also given in example (3.1). The agreement is not on the recipient in no case.

(2.1)

a. Kitab mekteb de waniya-Ø

book.NOM school.OBL in read<sub>PAST-3sgM</sub>

SUBJECT ADJUNCT

‘The book was read in the school.’

b. Malim-i kitab-i wend-i

teacher-OBL book-PL.NOM read<sub>PAST-3pl</sub>

AGENT PATIENT

‘The teacher (m) read the books.’

c. Malim-i kilit kerd-Ø çêver ra → Malim-i kilit kerd tı ra

teacher.OBL.M key.NOM do<sub>PAST-3sgM</sub> door.OBL DP

AGENT THEME RECIPIENT

‘The teacher (m) put the key on the door.’

- d. Malime kitab da-∅ talebe-y → Malime kitab da cı  
 teacher.OBL.F book.NOM give<sub>PAST-3sgM</sub> student-OBL  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 ‘The teacher (f) gave the book to the student.’

Directional particles *ra*, *ro*, *we* and *de* mark the constituents that they are used with as oblique case. But this is not the only reason why the R in (3.1c) is in oblique case. The R is also marked by oblique in (3.1d) when the recipient object is used alone without directional particles. As in the example *O şî çê* ‘he went home’, the use of any recipients in the sentence does not change the intransitiveness of the verb in (3.1a). This is because this adjunct constituent does not have a valence property. The distinction animate/inanimate is made in oblique case. While the animates receive the suffix /-i/, this suffix is not used for inanimate and becomes /-∅/. Besides, indirective structure (T = P, R) occurs when transitive (3.1b) and ditransitive (3.1c) (3.1d) are compared.

### 3.2. Passivization

While passivization occurs on Theme and Patient in Zazaki, it cannot occur on Recipient. This is called indirective passivization. Passivization occurs in three ways. (i) The /-i/ morpheme which is still found in Zaza language, remaining from the old Iranian languages historically, though it has been lost in many modern Iranian languages (ii) the auxiliary verb *amaene* and (iii) the copular verb (*biyaene*) that only passivizes the verb *kerdene*. Semantically and morphologically, it is not possible to passivize with the /-i/ suffix in some verbs. The auxiliary verb usually is used in these verbs. There are also cases in which (i) and (ii) are used as alternation, while (iii) is only possible in one case. *Derz-ıya-ene* and *des-t-ene amaene* are used as passive forms of the verb *des-t-ene* ‘to sew’, while the auxiliary verb is only used for the verb *ardene* ‘to bring’. This is because the verb *ariyaene* does not have a meaning. The passive roots of the verbs also form the root of the present tense. *Destene* ‘sew’, *derz-ıya-ene* ‘to be sewn’, *o derz-en-o* ‘he sews’. The examples of passivization are given below (3.2b), (3.2d), (3.2f).

(3.2)

- a. Heseni kemere est-e uşwe cı estene  
 Heseni-OBL stone.NOM throw<sub>PAST-3sgF</sub> water.OBL ‘to throw’  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 ‘Hesen threw the stone into the water’.
- b. Kemere erz-ıy-e uşwe cı erziyaene  
 stone.NOM throw<sub>PAST-PASS-3sgF</sub> water.OBL ‘to be thrown’  
 SUBJECT ADJUNCT  
 ‘The stone is threw into the water’.
- c. Hosta-y boax kerd dês ra pı ra kerdene  
 constructor-OBL paint.NOM do<sub>PAST.3sgM</sub> wall.OBL DIR ‘to put’  
 AGENT THEME VERB RECIPIENT  
 ‘The constructor put on the paint on the wall’.

- d. Boax bi dês ra pı ra biyaene  
 paint.NOM be<sub>PAST-3sgM</sub> wall.OBL DIR 'to be put'  
 SUBJECT ADJUNCT  
 'The paint was put on the wall'.
- e. Xıdırı dês boax kerd boax kerdene  
 Xıdır-OBL wall.NOM paint do<sub>PAST.3sgM</sub> 'to paint'  
 AGENT PATIENT  
 'Xıdır painted the wall'.
- f. Dês boax bi boax biyaene  
 wall.NOM paint be<sub>PAST-3sgM</sub> 'to be painted'  
 SUBJECT  
 'The wall was painted'.

All three forms of passivization cannot use with all verbs. The suffix /-i/ can be replaced by active suffixes like *-t*, *-n*, whereas the lexical auxiliary verb *amaene* is used as an alternation for the suffix /-i/. As for *biyaene*, it only appears for the active verb *kerdene*. Only active verbs can be passivized with the auxiliary verb (3.2b) (3.2d). The similarity between verbs can make it difficult to distinguish between Patient and Recipient. *Boax kerdene* is a transitive verb (3.2e), *boax pı ra kerdene* (3.2c) is a ditransitive verb. *Boax* in a transitive sentence (3.2e) is a component of the verb and belongs to the VP, while it functions as a direct object (3.2c) adjoining to the NP in a sentence with three arguments. As syntactic units, these elements have different functions. It is not normally possible for these elements to be replaced. When they change, the meaning of the sentence may collapse or the sentence may become completely meaningless. When the sentence *Xıdırı dês kerd boax* "Xıdır threw the wall in the paint" is compared to (3.2e), the difference in meaning becomes clear. *Xıdırı dês kerd boax* is structurally more close to (3.2a). The verb of both sentences is *cı kerdene* "to put in". Even if the sentence has a meaning after the change in the position of constituents, the number of valence will change. It is not allowed to change the position of constituents in ditransitive sentences except the verbs that take the prefixes *cı ra* and *cı rê* in Zazaki. The word order of these exceptional verbs is also different from usual ditransitive verbs. The word order of ditransitive A T V R, including *cı*, turns into the A T R V order only when used with combinations of *cı ra* and *cı rê*. It is possible to change the positions of the T and the R in this exceptional situation. Compared to (3.2a), *Heseni uxwe est-e kemere* 'Hesen threw water to the stone' has a completely different meaning. The meaning of the sentence after the replacement of the elements depends on the verb used in the sentence and its arguments. After the movement of the constituents, the meaning of the sentence depends on the verb and its arguments in the sentence.

### 3.3.Relativization

The relativization that occurs with the combination of the copular verb and the lexeme *ke* indicates the fetaures of a constituent. Since the lexeme *ke* has many different grammatical functions, the distinction should be made carefully. The lexeme *ke* which

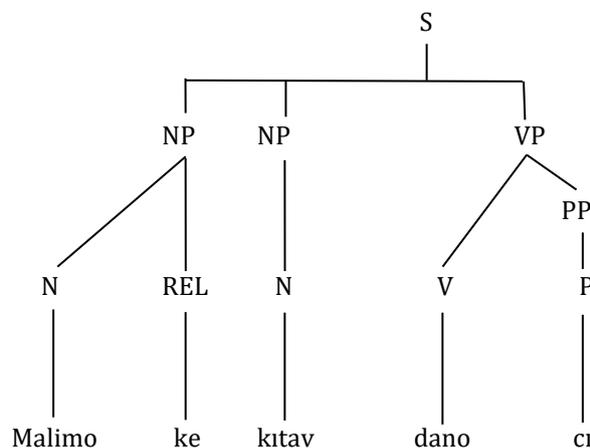
functions as a conjunction and a subjunctive mood particle is used with the verb *biyaene* for the relativization. The T and the R can be relativized in ditransitive sentences and the P in transitive sentences.

(3.3)

- a. Malim kitab da-n-o talebe-y  
 teacher.NOM book.OBL give<sub>PRES-PRES-3sgM</sub> student-OBL  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 'The teacher gives the book to the student.'
- b. Malim-o ke kitab da-n-o ci  
 teacher.NOM-COP.3SGM REL book.OBL give<sub>PRES-PRES-3sgM</sub> TP.OBL  
 'The teacher who gives the book to him.'
- c. Kitabo ke malim dano ci 'The book that the teacher gives to him.'
- d. Kitabo ke dino ci 'The book which is given to him.'
- e. Talebeo ke, malim kitab dano ci 'The student whom the teacher gives the book [REFERENCE].'
- f. Talebeo ke, kitab dino ci 'The student who is given the book [REFERENCE].'
- g. Malim kitab dano talebey ke, [] talebe biwano. 'The teacher gives the book to the student so that the student reads.'

Compared to (3.3b), the absence of copular verb in the sentence *Malim ke kitab dano ci* 'if the teacher gives the book to him', which has the same meaning with the sentence *Eke malim kitab dano ci*, has attributed the function of conjunction to *ke*. In (3.3d), the recipient object pronoun is a component of the verb. This is because it is in VP. If the relative pronoun appears in the NP, it also needs the copular verb for this function. Otherwise, it moves to the end of the phrase for the complement and provides the connection with the next clause (3.3g). There is no functional difference in passive structures (3.3d) (3.3f). Likewise, *ci* performs the same function as the reference constituent.

**Figure 3.1.** Relativization



### 3.4. Constituent Questions, Reflexivization, Reciprocalization

The ditransitive structure can be questioned with the interrogative pronouns *çi* or *kam*. If any sounds appear after *çi*, the sound /-k / or /-t / is added: *çi-k-o*, *çi-t-o* 'what is?'. It is also used the pronoun *se* for *çi* in the sentences that the verbs such as *çi ra vatene* 'to say someone' are used. The recipient pronoun can be replaced by the reciprocal pronoun *zumini* 'each other' or reflexive *xo/ho* 'self' in the verbs such as *çi ra vatene* 'to say someone' and *pı ra kuyaene* 'to hit someone, something' that the direct object as a null object is not mostly pronounced.

(3.4)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. Lazeki uxwe kerde suse                     | <i>çi</i> kerdene 'to put'             |
| 'The boy put the water into the bottle.'      |  |
| b. Kami <i>çi</i> kerd <i>çık</i> '           |  |
| Who put what into what?'                      |  |
| c. <i>Çı</i> bi suse '                        | <i>çi</i> biyaene 'to happen'          |
| What happened to the bottle?'                 |  |
| d. Gule Sefkani ra qesey vati                 | <i>çi</i> ra vatene 'to scold'         |
| 'Gule scolded Sefkan'.                        |  |
| e. Ae ve ey ra zumini ra qesey vati           | zumini ra vatene 'to scold each other' |
| 'She and he scolded each other'.              |  |
| f. İne [] kuya zumini ra                      | zumini ra kuyaene 'to bump into'       |
| 'They bumped into each other'.                |  |
| g. İne i kuyay zumini ra                      | zumini ra kuyaene 'to bump into'       |
| 'They bumped them into each other'.           |  |
| h. İne i kuyay xo ra                          | xo ra kuyaene 'to bump into'           |
| 'They bumped them to themselves'.             |  |
| i. Ey torzên da xo ro 'He hit ax to himself'. | xo ro daene 'to hit'                   |

Both the reciprocal and the reflexive pronoun can replace the recipient object pronoun according to the semantic content of the verbs that are combined with the recipient pronouns and the directional particles such as *pı ra* and *tı ro*. The reflexive pronoun generally requires a directional particle. The conversion from reciprocal (3.4g) to relativization (3.4h) occurs properly. Although these pronouns are used in the infinitive form in the verbs reciprocal (3.4g) and relativization (3.4h), (3.4i), the main verb is *pı ra kuyaene*. Thus, the contextual properties of the pronoun *pı* are automatically reflected in the reciprocal and relativization sentences.

### 3.5. Nominalization

The infinitive forms of all inflected verbs including ditransitive ones can be converted into a noun by combining through the NP and Ezafe 'genitive' in the sentence. There are two types of infinitives in Zazaki, one being feminine *kerdene* 'to do, to make' and the other

masculine *kerdiş* 'to do, to make'. These infinitives appear as alternations except in some specific cases in the Northern dialect. In the Southern dialect, only the masculine infinitive is used. If any suffixes appear after the feminine affix of the verb, this suffix drops and is replaced by /-Ø/. The suffix /-ê/ in the masculine and plural forms and the suffix /-a / in the feminine, provides the link: *Kerd-en-a* to 'your doing', *kerd-is-ê* to 'your doing' are semantically the same. The nominalization of the sentences in (3.4) are below.

## (3.5) Nominalization

- a. [Lazeki] [uẁwe] [kerde suse] → [uẁwe cı kerdena lazeki]  
 'The boy put the water into the bottle.'  
 NP NP VP(V, NP) → NP
- b. [Gule] [[Sefkani ra] [qesey vati]] → [cı ra vatisê]  
 'Gule scolded Sefkan.'  
 NP VP (((PP(NP,P)) VP(NP,V)) → NP
- c. [Ae ve ey ra] [[zumini ra] [qesey vati]] → [zumini ra qesey vatisê ine]  
 'She and he scolded each other.'  
 PP (PP,PP) PP(NP,P) VP(NP,V) → NP
- d. İne kuya zumini ra → [zumini ra kuyaena/kuyayisê]  
 'They bumped into each other.'  
 NP VP (V PP(NP,P),) → NP

VP and NP turn into a NP by adjoining in nominalization. The recipient takes its position with the verb in the first position of Ezafe to be presented by *cı*. [Lazeki] (NP) [uẁwe] (NP) [kerde suse] (VP) nominalizes with [uẁwe cı kerdena lazeki] (NP). Reciprocal *zumini* or reflexive *xo/ho* may appear for *cı*. In other words, ditransitive verb becomes nominal and links with the suffix Ezafe to Agent. Thus, a new NP is formed.

#### 4.Semantic Description

The word order in ditransitive verbs is normally A T V R. *Cı ra*, which has a peculiar feature and is used with benefactive verbs, precedes the verb because the starting position of its motion is the recipient object: A T R V. The word order in *cı ra vatene ve cı ra hesnaene* in these groups of verbs exceptionally becomes A R T V. The reason for this is that there is no physical action. In terms of semantic roles, one would say that 'give'-verbs take a recipient, while 'send'-verbs take a goal argument (Malchukov 2010: 48).

##### 4.1.Outer Pronouns

*Cı* is also used for bidirectional motion, while *pı* and *tı* only have one directional motion from Theme to Recipient: T → R, R → T. While *pı* appears in the actions that end on the surface of the recipient, it is possible to continue the action in *cı* and *tı*.

a. *pı ra*: The motion that the A triggers with the T can continue for a while after it arrives on the surface of the R.

b. *pı ro*: The only difference from *pı ra* is that the direction of the motion is from top to bottom.

c. *tı ra*: It refers to the situation in which the Theme passes into or through the Recipient, passing the surface of the Recipient.

d. *tı ro*: The only difference from *tı ra* is that the direction of the motion is from top to down.

e. *cı ra*: There is a bidirectional motion: T → R, R → T.

(4.1)

- a. Pisinge mor lone ra vet-∅ cı ra vetene  
 cat.OBL snake.NOM hole.OBL DIR take<sub>PAST-3sgM</sub> off 'to say'  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 'The cat took the snake out of the hole.'
- b. Xeyzane qolonya kerd-e dest-un-ê xo ra pı ra kerdene  
 Xeyzane.OBL cologne.NOM do<sub>PAST-3sgF</sub> hand-PL.OBL-EZ<sub>PL</sub> REC DIR 'to drive, to apply'  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 'Xeyzane applied cologne on her hands.'
- c. Moae uşwe kerd-e çêneke ro pı ro kerdene  
 mother.OBL water.NOM do<sub>PAST-3sgF</sub> girl.OBL DIR 'to pour off down'  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 'The mother bathed the girl.'
- d. Ƙokıme desteke kerd-e derzêni ra tı ra kerdene  
 old woman.OBL rope.NOM do<sub>PAST-3sgF</sub> needle.OBL DIR 'to thread, to put in'  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 'The old woman threaded the needle.'
- e. Dewız-u genım kerd-∅ patose ro tı ro kerdene  
 villager-PL.OBL wheat.NOM do<sub>PAST-3sgF</sub> machine.OBL DIR 'to throw down'  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 'The peasants threw the wheat into the machine.'
- f. Ciranan xele da patose ru pı ru dayış  
 neighbour-PL.OBL wheat.NOM give<sub>PAST-3sgF</sub> machine.OBL DIR 'to throw, hit down'  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 'The neighbours threw the wheat to the pest.'
- g. Kam-i [] tı ra va? tı ra vatiş  
 who-OBL [] 2SG DIR say<sub>PAST-3sgF</sub> 'to say'  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 'Who said to you.'

*Cı ra*, which precedes the verb, both expresses bidirectional motion and allows some constituents to change their positions in the sentences that it is used. To compare (4.1a) *pisinge mor lone ra vet* does not make a semantic difference. The constituent of intonation only changes. *Pisinge mor lone ra vet* (4.1a) refers to an action from the recipient to the direct object. On the contrary, *Malimi talebeu ra çiye vat* ‘The teacher told something to students’ refers to an action from the direct object to the recipient. In the verb *tı ra vatış* (*cı ra vatene* in the Northern dialect), which is used differently in the Southern dialect, direct object is not used as in the Northern dialect. These types of the verbs with null objects are so common in Zazaki. Although the null object is not used in the sentence, the verb is inflected according to the null object, which is always 3sgM in the past tense.

#### 4.2. Inner Pronouns

The pronouns *pe* and *te* which cannot be used with a verb and can only be combined with directional *de* mostly signify the locality as a thematic role. *Te de* is mostly used in intransitive verbs, whereas *pe de* appears in a few ditransitive sentences.

*pe de*: It refers to the situation where the theme goes beyond the surface of the recipient and passes into it.

*te de*: It is used for a closed area.

##### (4.2) Inside pronouns

- a. Mêse [] da-∅ çêneke de pe de daene  
 bee.OBL [NOM] sting<sub>PAST-3SGM</sub> girl.OBL DIR ‘to sting, to bite’  
 AGENT THEME RECIPIENT  
 ‘The bee stung the girl.’
- b. Doman-u suse de uşwe nê-verd-e te de verdaene  
 child-PL.OBL bottle DIR water-NOM NEG-PAST-3SGF ‘to leave in’  
 AGENT LOC THEME  
 ‘The children left no water in the bottle.’

The prefix also functions as a direct object in some verbs: It can be seen in examples in the table 4.1 how the recipient object pronouns make a ditransitive verb by adding a valence to a transitive verb. The direct object is empty in the verbs such as *cı misnaene* ‘to show, to teach’ that only the recipient pronoun is used as a suffix in the infinitive. Any nouns that are semantically appropriate can fill this position: *derse cı misnaene* ‘to teach a lesson’. As for in some verbs such as *pe de daene* ‘to sting someone’, the direct object is literally null. Only in a grammatical analysis, it is understood that the direct object is metaphorically used as 3sgM. The direct object in the sentences with such verbs is never used explicitly. It is always null in these structures (4.1a).

Some transitive and ditransitive verbs that are similar to each other are distinguished from each other due to the syntactic structure of the sentence. The recipient object pronoun is also used in ditransitive verbs.

Sefkani kar kerd → kar kerdene ‘to work’, tr. (A,P)

‘Sefkan worked.’

Xıdırî Sefkani kerd kar → kar (cı) kerdene ‘to help someone get a job, ditr. (A,T,R)

'Xıdır helped Sefkan get a job.'

In the table 4.1 below, some transitive verbs are given along with ditransitive verbs to indicate the differences.

**Table 3.1.** Properties of ditransitive verbs

PREV	IO	DIR	DO	PREV	VERB	VAL	MEANING
	ci	rê	ø		ardene	3	to bring for someone
ero	ci		ø		ardene	3	to adapt someone/something
	ti	ro	ø		cınitene	3	to sop, to dip someone/something
				gos	daene	2	to hear
			veng		daene	2	to call someone
			ø	dêm	daene	2	to overturn someone, something
	ci		ø		daene	3	to give someone
	ci		poşti		daene	3	to support someone/something
	ci		veng		daene	3	to call someone
	ci		zere		daene	3	to fall in love
	pe	de	ø		daene	3	to sting someone
	pi	ro	ø		daene	3	to hit someone/something
	pi	ra	ø		daene	3	to dress up someone
ero	ci		ø		dardene	3	to trouble someone
	ci		ø		estene	3	to throw someone/something
	ci		ø		fiştene	3	to sting, to insert someone/something
era	ci		ø		fiştene	3	to burn fire
	ci	ra	ø		guretene	3	to receive, to buy
	pi	ra	ø		guretene	3	to wear something
	ci	ra	ø		hesnaene	3	to hear from someone
	ci	ra		has	kerdene	3	to love someone
	ci		ø		kerdene	3	to put into someone/something
	ci	ra	ø		kerdene	3	to snatch, cut off something
	ci	ra	ø	pers	kerdene	3	to ask someone
	pe	de	ø		kerdene	3	to sting something
	pi	ra	ø		kerdene	3	to rub someone/something
	ti	ro	ø		kerdene	3	to throw into someone/something
	ti	ra	ø		kerdene	3	to attach someone/something
	pi	ra	ø		kuyaene	3	to crash someone/something
	ci		ø		misnaene	3	to show someone
	ci	ro	gos		naene	3	to harken someone/something
	pi	ra	ø		naene	3	to touch, to contact someone/something
ede	ci		ø		pernaene	3	to sting something
	pi	ro	ø		pilosnaene	3	to wrap up someone/something
	ci		ø		risnaene	3	to sprinkle something
	ci		ø		sanaene	3	to crash, to bump something
	ci	ra	ø		vatene	3	to say, to tell someone
	ti	ra	ø		vatiş	3	to say, to tell someone/something
	ci	ra	ø		vetene	3	to extract something
	pi	ra	ø		zeleqnaene	3	to paste someone/something

## Conclusion

Ditransitive verbs that causes a change of case in Zaza language do not allow the replacement of the constituents in the A T V R order. In ditransitive verbs where the direction of the motion is from Recipient to Theme, the constituents are ordered in the A T R V fashion. It is possible that the T and the R replace their positions in such sentences, and this replacement does not change the meaning of the sentence. There may be a difference only in the emphasized constituent. Regardless of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, indirect objects, that is recipient, are always marked by oblique case. The recipient has no valence in intransitive verbs, but it is a requisite constituent in ditransitive verbs.

The recipient object pronouns used to represent the recipient are combined with verbs in connection with their semantic content. These pronouns can make the meaning of the verb specific: *kerdene* 'to do', *ci kerdene* 'to do inside'. Furthermore, they can attribute a completely different meaning to the verb: *daene* 'to give' → *pi ra daene* 'to dress up someone'.

Although some recipient object pronouns are used in different meanings in the Southern dialect, they do not change the ditransitive feature of the verb. Semantic and morphological differences do not affect syntax.

## Abbreviations

A: Agent, DIR: Directional, ditr.: ditransitive, DO: Direct object, int.: intransitive, IO: Indirect object, LOC: local, NOM: Nominative, Ø: Zero morpheme, OBL: Oblique, P: Patient, PL: Plural, pl: plural, PRES: Present, PREV: Preverbal, PRON: Pronoun, R: Recipient, SG: Singular, sg: singular, T: Theme, tr.: transitive, V: Verb, VAL: Valence.

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